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ABSTRACT

In spite of an increase in the number of biracial individuals resulting from interracial unions since 1970, research on the topic has been sparse. Of the research that does exist in the counseling profession, little is empirically based and most is theoretical in nature. This study addresses the missing portion of the literature by presenting the findings of a study that relate to biracial individuals in the hopes of enlightening counselors and academicians to this group. The relationship between biracial individuals' racial identification with their two ethnic identities was studied. It was hypothesized that biracial individuals possess situational identities, based on factors including: knowledge of and exposure to ethnic heritage; relationships with parents; interpersonal interactions with racially diverse people; self-esteem and physical symptomatology. Multiple regression analysis results indicate that a positive and significant relationship exists between self-esteem and racial identity. (Contains 41 references and 5 tables.). (JDM)

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Biracial Individuals: Factors Affecting Racial Identification

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to address the relationship between biracial individuals' racial identification with their 2 ethnic identities. The authors hypothesized that biracial individuals' possess situational identities, based on factors including knowledge of and exposure to ethnic heritage; relationships with parents; interpersonal interactions with racially diverse people; self-esteem and physical symptomatology. Data was analyzed via the use of ANOVA to determine if self-esteem and physical symptomatology were related to situational racial identities. A multiple regression analysis was conducted to determine if physical symptomatology and self-esteem predict racial identification. Multiple regression analysis results indicate that a positive and significant relationship exists between self-esteem, and racial identity. Implications for research and clinical practice are discussed.

Biracial Individuals: Factors Affecting Racial Identification

General introduction

In recent years, researchers and clinicians have developed theoretical and empirical research focused on a previously neglected group of the U.S. population, biracial individuals. Note that in spite of the drastic increase of biracial individuals resulting from interracial unions since 1970 (Aikins, 1995; Phinney, 1996; Root, 1996), research on this topic has been sparse or has perpetuated negative, biased information and myths regarding this population. Of the research that does exist within the counseling profession (Daniel, 1992a as cited in Root, 1995; Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995), little is empirically based and most is theoretical in nature. Researchers have argued that the basis for the preponderance of theoretical literature has been due to the limited numbers of biracial individuals who identify themselves as such in the general population (Phinney, 1996). For these, and other reasons, little has been done to gather information on biracial individuals. As such, the researchers seek to address this missing portion of the literature by presenting the findings of a study that addresses biracial individuals in the hopes of enlightening counselors and academicians to the group.

Problems with past research

Generally, biracial individuals have been discussed in terms of the problematic nature of their possession of dual racial/ethnic identities. Indeed, many of the earliest studies investigating the racial/ethnic identity of minority populations (e.g., African-Americans, Asian-Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans) were often been associated with pathology (Sue & Sue, 1990). Similarly, early studies of identity development in biracial individuals often presented biracial individuals as a "problem ridden" group. Researchers like, Park (1928), and Stonequist (1937)

labeled biracial individuals as "marginal" people, suggesting that they were likely to be alienated by both racial groups to which they belong and suggesting that they possess an unhealthy identity development. These ideas are also found in current literature. For example, Herring (1995) stated that "[a] dual racial and cultural identity negatively affects normal ethnic socialization and developmental problems for biracial children." Many researchers, however, have argued that this labeling of biracial people as "marginal" could well be the result of the internalization of the prejudices existing in the larger culture (Green, 1947; Hall, 1980; Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995; Poston, 1990; Root, 1990).

Another factor that contributed to the problematic view of biracial individuals was the overgeneralization of research findings from participant samples consisting of clinical cases (e.g., Bowles, 1993; Henricksen, 1997; Herring, 1995; Overmier, 1990). The research developed from these cases, suggested that biracial individuals suffered from identity problems and other "potential problems includ[ing] cultural and racial identification issues, lowered self esteem, difficulties in dealing with conflicting cultural demands, and feeling marginal in two cultures (p.221, Kerwin, 1993)" (Bowles, 1993, Field, 1996; Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995; Lizard & Phoenix, 1995). The researchers therefore find it imperative to address these misconceptions in the literature by presenting the following study.

Racial Categorization

It is crucial to note that presently there is no widely agreed upon definition of race (Spickard, 1992; Wilkinson & King, 1987; Zack, 1995). Further complicating this issue is the notion that some researchers use race and ethnicity interchangeably (e.g., Phinney, 1996). Even though an extended review of the definition of race and ethnicity among different researchers is not the focus of this study it is necessary to note the following definitions of race and ethnicity.

Race is generally described as "a sub-group of peoples possessing a definite combination of physical characters, of genetic origin, the combination of which to varying degrees distinguishes the sub-group from other sub-groups of mankind [Krogman (1945, p. 49) quoted in Casas (1984, p. 787) used in Helms (1990)]". Ethnicity, on the other hand is often described as a "group classification of individuals who share a unique social and cultural heritage (customs, language, religion, and so on) passed on from generation to generation [Casas (1984, p. 787) used in Helms (1990)]."

Among the many prejudices existing in the society regarding race, one of the most crucial factors profoundly affecting biracial individuals is the concept of racial categorization as it exists in both the public conscious and the U.S. census. Numerous researchers, comprised primarily of people self identified as biracial or multiracial, have criticized the census for using monoracial categories (e.g., Daniel, 1992b; Fernández, 1996; Satris, 1995; Spickard, 1992; Thornton, 1992). They have argued that such illogical categorizations are perpetuated by the tradition of hypodescent, also known as "the one-drop rule" (Bowles, 1993; Daniel, 1992a, 1996; Fernández, 1996; Spickard, 1992). Recall that originally the "one drop rule" described any individual with a portion of African American ancestry as African American. This rule was also applied to people of Japanese American ancestry during WWII (Williams, 1996 in Root). Not only has this rule encouraged biracial people to deny one aspect of their individual identities (Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995), it has contributed to the concentration and preservation of socioeconomic power and privilege to the social majority (Daniel, 1996; Fernández, 1996; Ramirez, 1996). Further, for many people the one drop rule is viewed as a reaction formation by those in the majority culture against the "threat" of losing the "purity" of the White race (Williams, 1996). Hence, people of both the majority and the minority U.S. cultures became aware that one of the

purposes of the "one drop rule" was to encourage biracial individuals to select the racial/ethnic identity of the minority aspect of their heritage even when the individuals possessed the heritage of the majority (Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995). The rational for this rule was to maintain distinct racial classifications (Williams as cited in Root, 1996) and thereby keep the white race pure. Another equally compelling argument for the monoracial classification of biracial people is proposed by Maria Root (1995). She states that often in American society, "Many young people of European heritage, know little about the lives of who has come before them." In contrast "many children of color are exposed to cultural traditions and icons of their ancestors. Thus in an interracial family where the parent of color can convey a history of who has come before...and the whiter parent has little information available...the multiracial person may came [sic] to identify primarily as a person of color, perhaps even monoethnically" (p.234). She goes on to state that such is not so much a rejection of European culture as much a means of organizing what has been learned, such that the more emphasized background takes precedence over the less.

Racial/Ethnic identity

In consideration of the above criticisms, there have been several studies with biracial participants that have focused on the healthy identity development of individuals in non-clinical settings, rather than on a pathological orientation (e.g., Aikins, 1995; Anderson, 1993; Field, 1992; Kerwin, 1991; Hall, 1980; Stephan & Stephan, 1989; Xie & Goyette, 1997). Hall (1980), for example, found that that biracial children with Black fathers and Japanese mothers made far more positive comments about their ethnic heritage than they did negative. Such findings are in direct opposition to previous findings and are supported by more recent studies (e.g. Tizard & Phoenix, 1995). Stephan & Stephan (1989), in their study with Hawaii mixed-heritage Japanese

Americans and New Mexico mixed-heritage Hispanics, launched the first study that directly asked multiracial participants to assign themselves an ethnic identity, rather than forcing them to select one from a list of choices. This study revealed that the majority of the participants considered themselves to have multiracial/ethnic identities, which was another finding contrary to the general assumption that "psychologically healthy" multiracial individuals would claim a single ethnic identity, namely that of the minority aspect of their heritage.

As in the review of the "problematic" conceptualization of biracial ethnic identity development in the past, it was assumed a necessity for bi/multiracial individuals to identify with their minority heritage in order to be "psychologically healthy." However, several recent theories of biracial identity development suggest otherwise stating that monoraical identification is more psychologically unhealthy than not. Kerwin & Ponterotto (1995), Kich (1992), and Poston (1990), suggest that choosing a single racial identity is associated with the period of adolescence where individuals face peer pressure to choose one aspect of their identities with which to associate. Further, among the four general resolutions of biracial identity proposed by Root (1990), the two resolutions in which the biracial individual identifies with one racial group (whether assigned or self-choice) are assumed to be more challenging than those where both racial/ethnic identities are espoused. In the developmental stage theories of Kerwin & Ponterotto (1995), Kich (1992), and Poston (1990), the integrated racial identity is the last stage of the development, and suggests the successful resolution of the earlier stages. These authors seem to agree that further development of racial identity in this stage is a life-long process, suggesting that "there will be a continuing exploration and interest in different cultures, including one's own (Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995, p. 213). However, until these theories are empirically tested, they cannot be asserted to be completely valid.

Biracial identity

In her biracial identity development theory, Root (1990) proposed that biracial individuals identify themselves as a new race (e.g., Hapa Haole, the name given Eurasians in Hawaii) but cautioned that this has the potential to make individuals marginal if the person is trying to hide or reject any aspect of his or her racial heritage. This proposition is unique in that a similar resolution is not proposed in any of the other developmental stage theories. Conversely, it is problematic in that it does not address the social aspects of associations with one race over another. At this point in our society it is probably not possible to extract biracial identity development from the larger context of a racially hypersensitive society. Further, doing such does not allow one to account for the actual reasons behind why a biracial individual might choose to identify with that aspect of his or her heritage that is higher on the racial hierarchy. How can we be sure that the choice for racial identification is purely motivated by a desire to incorporate both identities or whether it is an attempt to distance oneself from that group lower on racial "food chain"?

Typically, even though biracial individuals report no preference for one race over the other, their interpersonal interactions and behavior with each group strongly indicate preferences. For example, in Tizard and Phoenix (1995) when Black/White biracial participants were asked to describe their racial affinities for one race over the other, most responded that they felt equally comfortable with members of both groups. Yet the researchers determined that, "twice as many had close white friends as had black" (p.563). Further, their findings indicated that even though participants espoused no preferences in dating for one race over the other, 78% of the participants had white dating partners as opposed to the 44% who had Black dating partners. Such findings raise the question of whether or not biracial individuals feel compelled to adhere

to the same social desirability norms that monoracial individuals adhere to which encourage the overt denial of racial preferences but which behaviorally indicate preference for the higher status racial group.

Situational racial/ethnic identity and physical symptomatology

Paden, 1970, (as cited in Okamura. 1981) stated that, "situational ethnicity is premised on the observation that particular contexts may determine which of a person's communal identities or loyalties are appropriate at a point in time" (p. 452). Such a phenomenon is not new for many people of color who are constantly called to posses dual identities to survive in a European American dominated society (Dubois, 1961). This dual identity concept was termed by W.E.B. Dubois as "double consciousness" many years ago and continues to have relevance to people of color today. Coleman (1995) and LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton (1993) each describe the situational racial/ethnic identity as an important aspect of coping with living in a multiracial society. Coleman and LaFramboise call the situational identity alternation and suggest that it is possible for one to develop accurate understandings of both cultures to which he or she belongs and to manage them in ways that are psychologically healthy. For biracial people, this concept of a situational identity is manifested in a variety of ways. In a 1993 study, Kerwin et al found that, "When asked as to whether they have felt pressured to choose one color over another as their primary identification, the four eldest child respondents [in the research study] could recall such situations." Further, these biracial adolescents spoke of peer pressure to choose a group of friends according to race and that this pressure came from people of both races which comprised their ethnic backgrounds. In a study of college aged biracial individuals, Phinney found that, " the spontaneous labels of the multiethnic students conformed to the ethnic composition of the campus." (Phinney, 1996, p. 10). Further, Phinney found that when given the opportunity to self

identify and to choose from a pre-selected list, a significant proportion of biracial individuals initially still self identified as belonging to the ethnic minority group yet when given label choices, selected alternate labels such as mixed and biracial (Phinney, 1996).

It appears that situational identities are quite prevalent for the current generation of biracial individuals in stark contrast to biracial and multiethnic people of past in which any semblance of minority blood ensured that one would identify with only the minority group. As an example, note that for older generations of African Americans it is not unusual for African American/ European American individuals to identify themselves as solely African American (Haizlip, 1994; Dacosta, in Root 1996). At that time, it was hypothesized that such was the best way for these individuals to foster healthy ethnic identities and their psychological well-being. Some current research points to the more negative effects of a situational racial identity. In Damji's (1996) study, she examined the effects of situational ethnic identity and its relationship to psychosocial adjustment. Using French Canadian participants, she found that English-speaking students who identified strongly with their language group but exhibited a high degree of inter-situational variation experienced less psychological well being as measured by higher stress, depression, and lower self-esteem.

Contrary to Damji's findings, many present day biracial individuals are electing to choose the biracial/biethnic label and refusing to "deny" either aspect of their heritage. There are many who would argue that, "there are some positive effects of bicultural socialization in terms of insulation from the ethnocentricism of single-heritage groups" (Stephan and Stephan, 1991 as cited in Phinney 1996, p.248). Such an identity appears to be manifested in a healthy situational racial/ethnic identification where these individuals take on the behaviors of the majority of the people representing the particular racial/ethnic group with which they are associating at the time.

It is indeed possible that a situational identity simply means that one has the freedom to interact with people of both racial groups in the presupposed ways that these groups interact. Stated another way, such a situational identity may allow individuals to 'manipulate' their outward race and 'project different selves' during social interactions (Williams, 1996 as cited in Root). Without making projections regarding the positive and/or negative repercussions of the situational identity, the researchers seek to determine the relationship between situational identity and the psychological well being and racial identification of biracial people. As such our research question addresses whether or not biracial people possess situational identities and if so, asks the question of what relationship these identities have to other aspects of psychological well-being.

Self esteem and racial identity

As stated earlier, in the past biracial individuals in the United States were regarded as marginal people with poor psychological well-being. These findings were in part due to the use of clinical populations who may have had more of a propensity toward psychological maladjustment than non-clinical populations as these people were studied while seeking assistance for their problems (Field, 1996 in Root). Conversely, research with non-clinical populations has produced findings indicating the lack of a significant difference in psychological well- being between monoracial and biracial individuals (Cauce, 1992; Field, 1996; Gibbs and Hines, 1992; Phinney, 1996,). In her research, Phinney 1996 determined that for both monoracial individuals and biracial individuals, a "higher ethnic identity score was correlated with a higher self esteem score p9)" and Field found that, "there were no significant differences between the racial groups in either their global self-worth or the specific domains of self-concept (p.216). However the findings of the other 2 studies must be interpreted with caution. In 1 of

the studies, (Cauce,1992) the participants originally self-labeled as members of the minority culture and were only identified as biracial individuals during clinical interviews; and in the other study (Gibbs and Hines, 1992), 3 of the 12 participants reported poor psychological adjustment. As such, although these findings are important, they must be interpreted with caution. In general, it appears that research is limited and mixed with regard to self-esteem and racial identity. Thus, the researchers are interested in testing this portion of the literature to determine if there is a relationship between self-esteem and racial identification among biracial individuals. It will be important to determine which, if any, of the racial identification patterns is most highly correlated with self esteem as this might offer interventions to assist biracial clients in working through racial identification issues if they are present.

Hypothesis

Given the non-emprically based assumptions made in the literature about biracial individuals, namely that it was assumed to be problematic for biracial people to have fluid, non-monoracial identities, the researchers wanted to test this idea. Based on the research as presented, the research team attempted to discover if biracial individuals possess situational racial/ethnic identities and if there are differences in how biracial individuals regard each aspect of their racial/ethnic identities. Further, the research team was interested in testing the psychological well-being aspect of biracial individuals. We were also interested in ascertaining if there is a link between a situational racial identity, self-esteem and mental and physical health.

To this end we researched the following five questions: First, do biracial individuals possess situational racial identities (as evidenced by switching behaviors) to accommodate particular situations? Second, are there significant differences in racial identity, self-esteem and physical symptomatology between those who possess situational racial identities and those who

do not? Third, what is the relationship between various aspects of biracial individuals' racial identity and self-esteem and physical symptomatology? Fourth, to what degree do self-esteem and physical symptomatology predict aspects of ethnic identity? And fifth, do biracial individuals identify with a parent of one race more than they do the parent of the other race?

It is important to note that the population being studied in this research endeavor is college aged. Typically, previous studies in the past have used clinical young and adolescent samples, samples where issues of identity development in general, and more specifically racial/ethnic identity development, are more fluid (Kich as cited in Root, 1992). This study is unique in that is seeks to address a population where individuals have, for the most part, solidified a racial/ethnic identity. Indeed, "by the time one has become an adult, one's racial membership within a hierarchically structured, racialized society has been concretized (Williams as cited in Root 1996).

Methods

This chapter delineates the methods used in collecting data for this study. The sections included are: participants, instrumentation, research design and sampling procedures, and data collection procedures.

Participants

The participants included university students aged 18 and over who self identify as being of biracial descent with two parents, each one belonging to a race different from the spouse.

Measures

The measures used in this study include:

A brief questionnaire on SES/demographic information (SR) which was developed by the research team. This is an 18-item open ended and forced choice scale that seeks to identify basic

socioeconomic and demographic information on the participant and his or her family of origin. In addition, this scale directly asked the question regarding participants' involvement in switching behavior. No identifying information is included on this form.

The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES, Rosenberg, 1965); a 10-item scale designed to assess self-acceptance aspects of self-esteem. Each item allows subjects to provide an answer in the range of 1 to 4 with 1 representing strong disagreement and 4 representing strong agreement. "One point is scored for each item answered in the keyed direction, yielding a range from 4 (lowest self-esteem) to 40 (highest self esteem)" (Westaway & Wolmarans, 1992).

The Brief Symptom Checklist (BSI, Derogatis & Spencer, 1985); a 53 item self report scale designed to assess psychological symptom patterns of psychiatric and medical patients and non-patients. It is composed of subtests (including somatization, obsessive-compulsive, interpersonal sensitivity, depression, anxiety, hostility, phobic anxiety, paranoid ideation, and psychoticism.

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM, Phinney, 1992); a 23 item scale used to examine 3 aspects of ethnic identity including, "a sense of belonging to and attitudes toward one's ethnic group; ethnic behaviors and customs; and ethnic identity achievement based on exploration and commitment" to one's own ethnic identity (Phinney 1996). The MEIM was modified for the purpose of this study to ascertain participants' situational identities. To facilitate this process, the MEIM was modified such that participants completed one for themselves, one using their maternal racial/ethnic group as a reference point and the other using the paternal racial/ethnic group as a reference point.

Sampling Procedures, and Data Collection

Data collection was conducted on the campus of the participants' university. A volunteer

sampling procedure was used. Members of the research team inquired to the various multiethnic student groups on campus to ascertain the degree of interest in participation. From this initial contact, student leaders of these groups were asked to assist in the recruitment of biracial participants from the membership body of their organizations. This procedure yielded a list of names and these students were contacted to ascertain their level of interest in the study. Only those students who indicated an interest in the study were invited to schedule a meeting time for participation. Members of the research team scheduled times to meet with the participants to administer the research packet. At the initial meeting, participants were briefed in accordance with the ethical guidelines for participants in a research study. Only those participants who consented to completing the instruments participated. The research packet consisting of 6 measures was administered during a single time period on one day, in the same sequential order.

Data Analyses

Means and standard deviations will be presented for all variables examined and Pearson product correlations between all pairs of variables will be presented. The two primary criterion variables were the three subscales of the Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure, Affirmation and Belonging, Ethnic Identity Achievement, and Ethnic Behaviors and the demographic sheet question on switching behaviors. The independent variables were the Behavior Symptom Inventory (measuring physical symptomatology and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (measuring global self-esteem) .

Results

Table 1 presents the means and standard of all of variables of the model. Descriptive data indicates that 47.4% of the sample identify as having a situational racial identity while 42.1% do not. Ethnic identity achievement was found to be positively and significantly related to

ethnic affirmation and belonging (r=.68). Self-esteem was found to be negatively and significantly related to physical symptomatology (r=-.50).

The results of the ANOVA with self-esteem as the independent variable and switching behavior as the dependent variable indicated no significant difference in self-esteem between those participants with a situational racial identity and those without.

The results of the ANOVA with physical symptomatology as the independent variable and switching behavior as the dependent variable indicated no significant difference in physical symptomatology between those participants with a situational racial identity and those without.

The results of the ANOVA with participant global ethnic identity as the independent variable and parental race global ethnic identity as the dependent variable indicated no significant difference in affiliations with either of the ethnic groups comprising the participants' heritage.

Table 2 presents the results of the multiple regression analysis with Ethnic Identity Achievement as the dependent variable and self-esteem and physical symptomatology as the independent variables. The model was not found to be a significant predictor of ethnic identity achievement ($F = 1.43$; $p = .27$)

Table 3 presents the results of the multiple regression analysis with Ethnic Behavior as the dependent variable and self-esteem and physical symptomatology as the independent variables. The model was not found to be a significant predictor of ethnic behavior ($F = .09$ $p = .91$).

Table 4 presents the results of the multiple regression analysis with Ethnic Affirmation and Belonging as the dependent variable and self-esteem and physical symptomatology as the independent variables. The model was not found to be a significant predictor of ethnic

affirmation and behaviors ($F = 1.17$; $p = .34$).

Table 5 presents the results of the multiple regression analysis with Global Ethnic Identity as the dependent variable and self-esteem and physical symptomatology as the independent variables. The model was found to be a significant predictor of ethnic identity ($F = 5.95$; $p = .01$). Further, self esteem was found to be significantly related to ethnic identity ($r = 71$, $p = .001$).

Discussion

Regarding the original questions posed in the introduction, the researchers discovered the following. Generally, it appears that biracial people do not disproportionately possess situational identities. This finding is significant because the researchers proposed that a person possessing two racial identities in one body would be more likely than not to exhibit those different aspects of him or herself in his or her behaviors with different groups of people. Based on the findings, it seems that biracial people are no more prone to this type of behavior than any other bicultural person. This finding is in accordance with the literature on biculturalism which suggests that people use many different ways to cope with cultural diversity (LaFramboise, Gerton, Coleman, 1993).

Recall that the researchers hypothesized that a biracial person's self-esteem and emotional and physical health would be related to that individual's ethnic identity. Even though the multiple components of ethnic identity were not found to be significantly related to the proposed parts of the model, global ethnic identity was found to be significantly predicted by the model. Why? As mentioned in the introduction, the literature is inconclusive with regard to the relationship between self-esteem and ethnic identity, with some research asserting that the two are related and other research stating that two are not. It seems reasonable to expect that an

individual who has a stronger sense of his or her global self would have as a component of that global positive self-regard, a strong ethnic identity.

Finally, recall that the researchers were interested in determining if biracial individuals identify more with one parent more than the other as a means of determining if that individual identifies as biracial/bicultural. It appears that for the sample studied such is not the case (i.e. biracial participants do not identify more with one parent than the other). To explain how this is so, we refer to a racial-cultural identity model for transracial adoptees proposed by Steward and Baden (1995). They propose that, "transracial adoptees' cultural identities are composed of both racial group cultural identity and the cultural identity of their parents, and that transracial adoptees' racial identities are composed of a combination of their own racial identity and that of their adoptive parents. In addition, an individual may have a unique cultural adaptation that is qualitatively different from that of the parents and the racial group. The model as diagrammed has two axes, a cultural identity axis and a racial identity axis". The researchers believe that this model has great applicability to biracial individuals. Specifically, it is possible that the participants in the sample who earned high mean scores on both parental group ethnic identity measures are bicultural and strongly affiliated with both racial aspects of their identities. In other words they may possess a very different racial identification than their parents' which is comprised of both their parents' ethnic identities. On the other hand, those participants in the sample who earned low mean scores on both parental group ethnic identity measures may be culturally undifferentiated and not affiliated strongly with either of their parents' racial group identities. Future researchers may want to address this aspect of the research via qualitative analysis to determine some of the reasons behind this phenomenon.

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

Some limitations of the study include the volunteer method of sampling in that those biracial individuals who volunteered may have a qualitatively different sense of themselves as biracial people than those who did not volunteer. Indeed it is possible that they have devoted more thought to the topic. The researchers also did not address the role of phenotype in this study. Breland (1998) offers a model that directly links personal phenotype to interpersonal interactions based on race. This is an important aspect of the research for future consideration. It is also important to note that a significant number of the participants surveyed were multiracial instead of biracial which forced the researchers to omit their packets from the data analysis. The significant numbers in which this occurred, n=7 or 24% of the sample, may mean that future researchers will include a more precise definition of biracial racial identity beyond a statement in the consent form which asks specifically for people of parents from two different races.

One final statistical limitation of the study is associated with the small sample size. Given Cohen's (1992) discussion of the necessary sample size for an analysis at .80 power, the researchers concluded that a sample size of approximately 52 subjects are necessary for an ANOVA such as was used in this study. A moderate effect size for ANOVA is (.25). Aside from this concern of "power", all other statistical analyses appeared sound. In an attempt to preserve the statistical assumptions set forth for a regression analysis, the researchers determined that there are no relationships between the independent variables and subsequent residual terms for any of the regressions performed. Furthermore, histograms of residuals for each regression indicate normal distributions.

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Table 1 Means and Standard Deviations for Biracial Individuals on Model Variables

Variable	M	S D
MOMPHINN	3.14	.71
DADPHINN	3.21	.56
SELFPHIN	3.36	.41
SEB	6.18	1.63
SAB	18.06	2.68
AGE	23.41	3.91
SEIA	23.76	2.80
RSES	37.06	3.45
TBSI	58.94	10.91

*MOMPHINN= MEIM for maternal racial group; DADPHINN=MEIM for paternal racial group; SELFPHINN = participant MEIM; SEB= MEIM Ethnic behavior subscales; SAB=MEIM affiliations and belonging subscales, SEIA=MEIM ethnic identity achievement subscale; RSES = Rosenberg self esteem scale; TBSI = Behavior Symtpom Inventory

Table 2.

Results of Multiple Regression Analysis to Predict Ethnic Identity Achievement

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
RSES	.221509	.235368	.272892	.941	.3638
TBSI	-.056083	.075064	-.216646	-.747	.4683

Note: The model did not significantly predict ethnic identity achievement

Table 3.

Results of Multiple Regression Analysis to Predict Ethnic Behaviors

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
RSES	.027612	.147162	.059655	.188	.8541
TBSI	.020670	.046933	.140024	.440	.6669

Note: The model did not significantly predict ethnic behaviors.

Table 4.

Results of Multiple Regression Analysis to Predict Affirmation and Belonging

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
RSES	.343486	.230427	.439649	1.491	.1599
TBSI	.033506	.073488	.134476	.456	.6560

Note: The model did not significantly predict ethnic affirmation and belonging.

Table 5.

Results of Multiple Regression Analysis to Predict Global Ethnic Identity

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
RSES	.079434*	.026577	.691543	2.989	.0105
TBSI	-1.52990E-06	.008476	-4.176E-05	.000	.9999

*p<.01

Note: Model variable self-esteem was found to be significant in predicting global ethnic identity.